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THE STRUCTURE OF THE
PRESIDENTIAL SELECTION PROCESS

Honors Independent Study
Spring 1984

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The Presidency is a peculiar office. . . . It is an institution made a piece at a time by successive men in the White House. . . . But the Presidency is much more than an institution. It is a focus of feelings . . . for the most intense and persistent emotions in the American polity. The President is a symbolic leader, the one figure who draws together the people's hopes and fears for the political future. On top of all his routine duties, he has to carry that off--or fail.¹

The Presidency is a unique institution. No other political office in America is viewed with such awe, respect, criticism and contempt. The President must be all things to all people. He must be a leader, a ruler and a diplomat. His decisions and policies affect many Americans. Due to the significance of the office, time and consideration should be given to the method by which the President is elected. The intent of this study is to examine the structure of the presidential selection process from the nomination campaign through the general election. Also included are brief biographies of the 1984 presidential candidates and comments on the possibility and probability of each one's chance at becoming President of the United States of America.

The origin of the extremely important office--the Presidency, is rooted in the United States Constitution. It places executive power in a President whose term shall run for four years and be appointed in such a way as the legislature may determine. The Constitution also states the individual requirements needed to qualify for this highly respected and sought after office. "No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible

to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States."² Extra-constitutionally, a highly complex selection process has developed over the last two hundred years.

Selecting A President: Impact of Primaries

"Before the emergence of the current nominating process, presidential selection took place under four relatively distinct nominating systems: the original Constitutional Plan (1787-96); the Congressional Caucus (1800-16); the Pure Convention System (1832-1908); and the Mixed System (1924-68)."³ The present system incorporates various stages, the first being the pre-convention time which is highlighted by a series of primaries. Presidential primaries can be considered relatively new inventions since they did not exist until the twentieth century when they were encouraged by the progressive movement. However, the popularity of this type of delegate selection was temporary and after World War I primaries began to decline in number. Party leaders viewed primaries as a threat to their own power, argued they were expensive and pushed for their abolition. During this period, low voter turnout caused major candidates to avoid them.

By 1968, primaries were still not considered essential to the nomination. In fact, running in too many races was a sign of weakness. Being entered in many primaries indicated little national recognition and the lack of support from party leaders. Therefore, candidates chose primaries carefully, and the primaries tended to reinforce the leading candidates.⁴

Since 1968, the primary process has changed dramatically. As a result of the reforms introduced by the McGovern-Fraser Commission, it is less

dominated by state party leaders and is more open to the general public. The reforms were created with the intent of increasing public participation and representation of the party's electorate at its nomination convention. This has led to a larger number of primaries with more delegates being selected in them. While voter turnout has increased, state party structures have weakened. As a consequence of the reforms, the organizational requirements of a nomination campaign have increased considerably.

The 1970s saw primaries grow significantly more important. They soon became crucial and decisive. Incentives multiplied for entering primaries due to new finance laws that provided for government subsidies of campaigns and increased media coverage. Through the influence of television, voters have become more independent, more concerned with single issues, more likely to split tickets and less likely to be swayed by political parties.

Primaries had become an almost necessary step to the nomination by 1972. They were used to build popularity, not just reflect it. Among the factors that contributed to the significance of presidential primaries, the new rules establishing delegate selection have been the most important. These rules allowed more people to participate in the nomination process and an increase in minority representation at the conventions.

Delegate Selection Alternatives

There are two basic types of presidential primaries: the presidential preference primary in which individuals vote directly for the candidate they wish to nominate, and the delegate selection primary where delegates are elected to the national conventions. There are two commonly used ways delegates from

primary states are allotted to candidates. One is the winner-take-all method in which the presidential candidate receiving the most votes wins all the delegates. The second is the proportional representation method by which the delegates are divided among the candidates in proportion to the percentage of votes each contender receives.

The caucus system provides an alternate delegate selection method to the primary. The caucus is a multi-tiered system extended over a number of months. Caucus states usually show lower turnout than primary states, but caucus participants are largely committed party members and activists.

The caucus system begins when party members come together in local precinct meetings where delegates are selected to the next stage of the process. Precinct caucuses are open to all party members. The participants elect delegates to the county conventions, which then elect delegates to a state convention where the national convention delegates are chosen. At each stage in the process, the presidential preferences of the delegates chosen to attend the next phase must proportionally reflect the presidential preferences of the people present at the caucus or convention.⁵

Preconvention Strategies of Recent Candidates

Due to the more broadly based delegate selection process created by the reforms, all serious candidates now need to develop a preconvention strategy to display their strengths, build popularity and gain exposure. The Carter campaign of 1976 has provided a basic plan for most contenders, particularly the lesser known ones. The principal features are:

1. Decide early and develop an organization and a fund-raising capacity-even as far as two years ahead.
2. Maximize publicity and generate support by staying in the public eye as much as possible. An early announcement of candidacy may be desirable.
3. Qualify as early as possible for government matching funds so as to improve credibility in the eyes of the media.
4. Mount a vigorous campaign in the early primaries. Victories will increase recognition and build momentum.
5. Run in as many primaries as possible so as to amass delegate support.
6. Exude confidence but have lower public expectations than private ones.
7. Design an effective group appeal that will broaden support inside the party without alienating potential partisan and non-partisan voters.⁶

Well known candidates and incumbent Presidents may put off entrance into primaries because of their party affiliations, public record and popularity. However, delegate support is not automatic. "Candidates must run to win."⁷

The National Convention

In 1984, the candidate who collects the majority of delegates in twenty-six primaries and thirty-one caucuses (this includes all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Democrats abroad, American Samoa, Guam, Latin America, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands)⁸ will be given the Democratic presidential nomination at the party's convention in San Francisco, July 16-20. Incumbent President Ronald Reagan will in all likelihood, be nominated by acclamation at the Republican convention in August.

In theory, national conventions, the party's supreme governing body, perform four basic functions. They determine the party's rules and regulations; choose its presidential and vice presidential nominees; decide on its platform; and provide a vehicle for unifying the party and for launching its presidential campaign. In recent years, the convention merely ratified

the choice of a presidential candidate made earlier by the primary voters. The selection of a running mate is generally the nominee's choice. Party platforms created before the convention and by the nominee are usually accepted by the delegates with little or no change.

Conventions may be considered gigantic campaign rallies. The excitement surrounding the convention helps provide for party unity and to heal wounds incurred over the struggle for the nomination. The party tries to bring together the candidates and various factions that appeared during the primary campaign. Sometimes the presidential nominee will make concessions on the party platform or select a party chairman or vice presidential candidate favored by the loser. Generally, in his acceptance speech, the nominee calls for party unity. Important party figures will appear on stage at the close of the convention to pledge their support in the upcoming campaign.⁹

The Fall Campaign

The time between the conventions and Labor Day is traditionally spent planning campaign strategy and building a presidential campaign organization. The real presidential campaign extends from Labor Day to the first Tuesday in November. According to The Presidential Election Game by Steven Brams, research on electoral behavior over the past forty years has demonstrated that people decide for whom they will vote in a presidential election well before the beginning of the general election campaign. Even though the campaign does not change many minds, it does reinforce choices that have already been made. However, for the 20 to 40 percent of the electorate still undecided about their choice at the start of a presidential campaign, the campaign or

events surrounding it may be the deciding factor. Initially this undecided vote is usually sufficient to swing key, large states in most presidential elections. If a candidate does capture 55 percent or more of the popular vote, his success can be considered a landslide.

The General Election Campaign

The general election campaign must take into account several factors when developing a winning strategy. These variables include the electoral college, partisanship, voter turnout, campaign finance and incumbency.

If presidential campaigns are decisive principally for the minority of undecided or uncommitted voters who will be crucial in determining the election outcome, then a candidate's ability to project favorably his personality and positions on issues during the campaign assumes great importance.¹⁰

Candidates must concentrate intensely on winning the election. In pursuit of this feat, the candidates are aided by the fact that they are after not only popular votes, but also electoral votes (namely the 270 electoral votes necessary to capture the presidency). From this figure flows all campaign strategy and tactics.

Stephen Wayne states in The Road to the White House that

Certain decisions cannot be avoided when developing an electoral strategy. These decisions stem from the rules of the system, the costs of the campaign, and the character of the electorate. Each of them involves resource allocation: that is what a strategy is all about. A strategy is simply a plan of action, a method for organizing limited resources to achieve the desired objective--victory on election day.¹¹

The most significant aspect in developing campaign strategy is the method of collecting electoral votes. Typically, certain states are thought of as more important in the Electoral College, but these states may not always

be the critical ones for the parties and their candidates. "In building their electoral majorities, candidates begin from positions of strength, move to areas in which they have some support, and compete in most of the big states regardless of the odds."¹²

Since the 1930s, the Democrats have always focused on the northeastern and midwestern industrial states (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri) which form the core of the party's political base because they provide 56 percent of the needed electoral votes. Other traditional Democratic states include Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Washington, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia and Delaware. Democratic candidates appeal to these states because the voters form an economic coalition built on middle class, blue collar values, with divergent political philosophies.

It is more difficult for a Republican to win in theory because none of the large states (except possibly Indiana) can be considered Republican. Although some smaller states in the Northeast, the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains have leaned toward the Republicans, their vote totals fall below the amount needed for an electoral majority. However, in recent years, the "solid West" has provided a relatively stable foundation for the Republican nominee. An additional area of support may be established through key Southern states by appealing to a conservative core.

Another important aspect of a campaign is partisanship. Party identification "is a psychological attachment an individual feels toward a political party."¹³ Most Americans have an emotional commitment to one of the major parties. Such party preferences are most often learned as children in the home and at school, and continue to be a guiding force throughout life.

Party identification provides a means by which individuals perceive and evaluate political candidates and issues. Party alignment influences many voters in their decisions. The Democrats have an advantage being the majority party. Democratic candidates stress their affiliation with the party while the Republicans play down the party factor. Popular party images may also be called into play. Democrats are perceived as the party of the common folks, of labor and minority groups. They tend to do better when economic issues are prominent. Their candidates stress the "bread and butter" issues of low unemployment, high minimum wage, maximum social security benefits and tax cuts for low and middle income families, and emphasize the ties between Republicans and big business. Republicans focus on the issues and the leadership qualities of their candidates. Therefore, the Republicans need to have the more attractive candidate if they hope to win the election.

Another factor in strategic planning is the turnout of the electorate. Turnout is influenced by registration laws, the demographic characteristics and political attitudes of the population, the kind of election and its competitiveness and often times, the weather. Lower turnout tends to harm the Democrats and help the Republicans. In the past, a key element of Democratic candidates' campaigns has been a large registration drive in order to maximize the number of votes.

Yet another strategic consideration is how campaign finances should be distributed. Legislation in the 1970s altered the task of raising money. Today, federal financing for general elections is available. The candidate's organization may now spend less time and energy on fund raising.

A final factor in campaign strategy is incumbency. It ensures recognition, visibility, respectability and credibility. It provides a record of

accomplishments and failures. Incumbents are viewed as more experienced and knowledgeable. The incumbent's strategy is to create the impression that the President is running against a less qualified and possibly unknown individual. "Since security is one of the major psychological needs which the Presidency serves, the certainty of four more years with a known quantity is likely to be more appealing than the uncertainty of the next four years with an unknown one."¹⁴

The drama and emotion of the presidential campaign come to a head in the general election. "Presidential elections are important to us as citizens. They determine who will guide our future. They also remind us of our heritage of political responsibility and freedom, a heritage which, in a troubled world, seems to us increasingly precious."¹⁵

Once the general election is held in early November and the Electoral College completes its voting in December, the President is finally named. He must then change his focus from campaigning to running a nation. He must tackle the task of forming an excellent administration, causing economic recovery, finding a job for every unemployed individual, solving and handling effectively all domestic and foreign policies and attempt to establish world peace.

The presidential selection process is not perfect. Its various procedures are open to fraud and error. It is expensive and does not always assure the election of the best, most qualified candidate. However, this method, throughout its evolution, has accomplished its purpose--electing the President. What does the future hold for the current system? For it to continue, change and improvement are expected and necessary. The nominating process has developed and flourished for almost two centuries. The advancement of society will

ENDNOTES

- ¹James David Barber, The Presidential Character, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), p. 4.
- ²Thomas M. Durbin and Michael V. Seitzinger, Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 1.
- ³James W. Ceaser, Reforming the Reforms: A Critical Analysis of the Presidential Selection Process. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1982), p. 11.
- ⁴Stephen J. Wayne, The Road to the White House. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), pp. 83-85.
- ⁵Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 7.
- ⁶Stephen J. Wayne, The Road to the White House. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), pp. 110-111.
- ⁷Ibid, p. 111.
- ⁸Charles T. Manatt, Final Call: The 1984 Democratic Convention. (Washington D.C., Democratic National Committee, 1983), p. 4.
- ⁹Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 21.
- ¹⁰Steven J. Brams, The Presidential Election Game. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 90.
- ¹¹Stephen J. Wayne, The Road to the White House. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), p. 163.
- ¹²Ibid.
- ¹³Hugh L. LeBlanc, American Political Parties. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), p. 144.
- ¹⁴Stephen J. Wayne, The Road to the White House. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), p. 174.
- ¹⁵Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron B. Wildavsky, Presidential Elections: Strategies of American Electoral Politics. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 6.

THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Democrats

Reubin Askew

Alan Cranston

John Glenn

Gary Hart

Ernest Hollings

Jesse Jackson

George McGovern

Walter Mondale

Republicans

Ronald Reagan

REUBIN ASKEW

Fifty-five year old Reubin O'Donovan Askew, was born in Muskogee, Oklahoma. Askew's mother and his sailor father were divorced when he was only two. His mother single-handedly raised him and his five older brothers and sisters.

While in the fourth grade, Askew and his family moved from Oklahoma to Pensacola, Florida. After high school graduation in 1946, Askew enlisted in the Army. Two years later he was discharged as a paratrooper sergeant. He then enrolled at Florida State University and majored in public administration. After graduation his class of Reserve Officers Training Corps was called to active duty during the Korean War. He served in the Air Force for two years where he spent most of his time in Europe as an aerial photo-interpretation officer.

After the Korean War, Askew received his law degree from the University of Florida and married Donna Lou Harper, now his wife of twenty-seven years. In Pensacola he worked as a prosecuting attorney before he was elected to the Florida Legislature in 1958. Following four years in the House, he served in the State Senate where he later held the position of president pro tempore. In 1970, Askew was elected governor of Florida and won a second term in 1974. He acquired his most recent political office in 1979 when he became United States trade representative under Jimmy Carter.

Askew stresses economic themes and calls for new cooperation among business, government and labor. He has taken unpopular stands within the party, antagonizing labor leaders and women. He is more conservative than most opponents and supports restrictive legislation on abortion and exercising "traditional values."

Askew seems well qualified, but does he have a chance at the Presidency? According to a top Democrat who knows Askew well, " 'He's tough enough, smart enough, and he understands the process.' But, the friend adds, Askew's stubborn pursuit of the Presidency is that of a man possessed' who disregards reality."^{1&2}

¹"Reubin Askew's Lonely Run for President," U.S. News & World Report, September 26, 1983, p. 41.

²Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 12; "Reubin Askew's Lonely Run for President," U.S. News & World Report, September 26, 1983, pp. 41-43; "Getting Political With Reubin Askew," Family Weekly, January 22 1984, p. 11.

SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Alan Cranston was born on June 19, 1914, the son of a Los Altos, California, real estate agent. In high school Cranston ran track, played football, edited the yearbook and wrote for the school newspaper.

Cranston attended Pomona College for a year, spent a summer at the University of Mexico, then entered Stanford University as an English major where he lettered in track and wrote for nearby newspapers. He graduated from Stanford in 1936 and joined the International News Service in Europe. During World War II he spent three years in the Office of War Information.

While making a living in real estate and land investment, Cranston became involved in the world-peace movement, first as a director of Americans United for World Government and then for three years as president of its successor, the United World Federalists. After the 1952 elections he helped start and headed the California Democratic Council. He was elected the state's first Democratic controller in seventy-two years in 1958, and re-elected to that position in 1962. In 1968 Cranston joined the California Senate where he was elected Democratic whip in 1977.

Cranston and his first wife, Geneva McMath, were married in 1940 and had two sons, Robin and Kim. Shortly after Cranston was elected senator, Geneva suffered a stroke and the marriage ended in divorce in 1977. He married Norma Weintraub in 1978. In 1980, tragedy hit when his oldest son, Robin, was struck and killed by a van.

Campaigning primarily as an arms-control advocate, Cranston has attracted support from disarmament and peace groups. Despite his support of a nuclear freeze, he has been pragmatic and conservative on many important economic issues affecting the weapons industry in California. He strongly opposes Reaganomics, and his economic approach is basically liberal.

Cranston is a reliable, conscientious man. "Senator Dale Bumpers speaks for many colleagues in calling Cranston 'intense, sincere, hardworking and well liked.' He adds, "You can trust his word on how he's going to vote." ^{1&2}

¹"Uphill Racer: The Long Run of Alan Cranston," U.S. News & World Report, July 18 1983, p. 42.

²Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), pp. 12-13; "Uphill Racer: The Long Run of Alan Cranston," U.S. News & World Report, July 18 1983, pp. 41-43.

SENATOR JOHN GLENN

John Herschel Glenn, Jr., was born in Cambridge, Ohio on July 18, 1921. He spent his early years in New Concord, Ohio, where in 1939 he entered Muskingum College. Glenn left college during his junior year to become a United States Marine Corps pilot in World War II. He married Anna Castor, his hometown sweetheart, soon after receiving his commission. The Glenns have two children, John David and Carolyn Ann.

Glenn became a pilot in the Pacific Theater during World War II. Because of his service in the Pacific and the Korean War, he earned a total of five Distinguished Flying Crosses and nineteen Air Medals. He became a test pilot after the Korean War and made headlines in 1957 for setting a transcontinental speed record, flying from Los Angeles to New York City in three hours and twenty-three minutes.

In 1959, Glenn and six other men were chosen for the Mercury program which had the goal of putting an American into space. He served as backup pilot in 1961 when fellow astronauts made suborbital flights. Glenn became a national hero on February 20, 1962 when he became the first American to orbit the earth. He circled the earth three times in less than five hours. He was presented the Distinguished Service Medal of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) by President John F. Kennedy only four days after his flight.

Glenn resigned from the astronaut program in January, 1964. He became a colonel in 1964 and left the Marines in 1965 and entered private business, while he also served as a consultant for NASA. Glenn was elected to the United States Senate in 1974 where he has served for the past ten years.

If elected, Glenn would restore some budget cuts, but cautions that restraints on domestic spending will still be necessary in the future. He is dedicated to a continued defense buildup and is suspicious of the nuclear freeze. He supports an aggressive foreign policy and is skeptical of a large scale industrial policy.¹

¹World Book Encyclopedia, 1980 ed., s.v. "John Glenn;" Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 9.

SENATOR GARY HART

One of two children, Gary Hart was born in Ottawa, Kansas, in 1936. He grew up in a farming community where his father, a rancher, was involved in a farm implements business. He attended Bethany College in Oklahoma, Yale Divinity School and earned an L.L.B. degree from Yale Law School. In 1958, he married the former Lee Ludwig. The Harts have two children, Andrea, age 19, and John, age 17.

Hart worked for three years in Washington at the Department of Justice, then served as a special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, Stuart Udall, where he specialized in Western resource issues. Hart also worked as a volunteer in the Presidential campaigns of John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. He was George McGovern's Presidential campaign manager in 1972.

Hart was elected a United States Senator from Colorado in 1974, and re-elected in 1980. As Senator, Hart has been an outspoken advocate of the SALT II Treaty and Congressional advisor to the SALT II talks; has proposed a major new negotiating framework for nuclear arms control including the control of nuclear weapons technology; and has led the effort to establish the concepts of pay equity--comparable pay for comparable jobs. In 1978, Hart issued a White Paper on Defense outlining a defense program for the next decade.

A member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Hart founded the eighty member, bipartisan congressional Military Reform Caucus in 1981 to change the focus of the defense debate. He led the fight in 1982 against the Administration's attempt to make private, segregated schools tax exempt, and led the Senate fight in 1981 and 1982 to restore funding for basic education programs.

In his campaign for the Presidency, Hart has stressed "new ideas" and the "need for new leadership." He spurns extremes on both domestic and foreign policy issues and emphasizes the need for a pared-down but efficient defense program and a domestic policy based on new technology and efficiency. He has recently oriented his campaign toward women, saying "I think those of us who happen to be men ought to begin finally to listen to the women of this society."¹

"The remaining years of this century," says Hart, "could be a period of innovation and rebirth for the United States."² Hart wants to lead that renewal. That is why he is running for President.³

¹Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 13.

²"Getting Political With Senator Gary Hart," Family Weekly, 12 February 1984, p. 9.

³Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 13; "Getting Political With Senator Gary Hart," Family Weekly, 12 February 1984, p. 9; Campaign headquarters of Senator Gary Hart.

SENATOR ERNEST HOLLINGS

Ernest Hollings was born January 1, 1922 in Charleston, South Carolina, the son of a paper mill proprietor whose business went bankrupt in the Depression of the 1930s. After high school graduation at age sixteen, Hollings enrolled at the Citadel, Charleston's prestigious military college. Following graduation in 1942 he went to Fort Stewart, Georgia as an Army lieutenant in command of recruits from all over the country. In 1945, he was discharged as a captain with seven campaign stars.

Hollings attended law school at the University of South Carolina and in 1947 he began practicing law in Charleston. Only two years out of law school, he won a seat in South Carolina's House of Representatives, where he served six years, four as speaker pro tempore. He became lieutenant governor in 1954 and in 1958 was elected governor of South Carolina. Prevented from seeking a second term by the South Carolina Constitution, Hollings ran for the Senate in 1962, but lost to incumbent Olin Johnston. When Johnston died three years later, Hollings ran for the unexpired term and has been re-elected ever since. Hollings' first marriage ended in divorce in 1970 and produced four children. He and Rita Liddy, a former high school teacher, were married twelve years ago.

Hollings has a background of more experience in public office than any of his rivals for the Presidency and is rated one of the most personable and effective members of the Senate. When asked why he was running for the White House he commented, "I'll be durned if I was going to sit back after thirty years of watching and not take a crack at it."¹

Hollings, a pragmatic middle-of-the-roader, advocates balanced budgets, a 5% domestic increase in defense spending and a freeze on most domestic spending. He calls for "fair-sacrifice across the board by Democratic interest groups as well as Republicans."²

¹"Ernest Hollings: What Makes an Underdog Run," U.S. News & World Report, November 7 1983, p. 53.

²Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 12.

REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

Jesse L. Jackson, one of five children, was born (out of wedlock) October 8, 1941, in Greenville, South Carolina. An excellent athlete in high school, Jackson played football, baseball and basketball at the all-black Sterling High School in Greenville. After graduating in 1959, he accepted a football scholarship to North Carolina's Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro. In his senior year, Jackson, an honor student and football star, was elected president of the college's student body.

Jackson's career in public service began in the early 1960s when he became involved in the civil rights movement. By 1963, he was leading student sit-ins and protest marches which eventually brought about desegregation of Greensboro's theaters and restaurants. It was during this time that he was elected president of the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council on Human Rights.

Jackson graduated from college in 1964 with a degree in sociology. He worked briefly for then-Governor of North Carolina Terry Sanford, helping organize Young Democratic Clubs. After college Jackson entered the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1965. He was ordained a minister three years later. Today he is Associate Pastor of Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church in Chicago.

In 1965, Jackson became directly involved with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1966, Dr. King asked Jackson and the leadership of the Chicago-based Council of Community Organizations to help in a national drive to organize black communities to boycott discriminatory businesses. With Dr. King as head of the Chicago branch. In 1967, Jackson was named National Director of Operation Breadbasket.

Jackson organized Operation PUSH--People United to Serve Humanity, in 1970. He served as its national president until the fall of 1983, when he took a leave of absence and began his campaign to be elected President of the United States.

Jackson lives in Chicago with his wife, Jacqueline, and their five children: Santita, 20; Jesse, Jr., 18; Johnathan, 17; Yusef, 13; and Jacqueline, 8.

Jackson feels his campaign will be a broad-based social movement designed to "renegotiate" the relationship between minority groups. He proposes to pull blacks, Hispanics, poor whites and women together in a "rainbow coalition" that could effectively bargain for political power. He hopes to raise issues of most concern to minority voters: the Reagan budget cuts, unemployment, civil rights enforcement, urban decay and discrimination against women. He would like to replace Reagan administration economic policies with "consumer" oriented monetary and fiscal policies.¹

¹Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 12; Campaign headquarters of Reverend Jesse Jackson.

GEORGE MCGOVERN

The son of a Methodist minister, George Stanley McGovern was born on July 19, 1922, in Avon, South Dakota. During World War II he served as a bomber pilot in Europe after which he completed his studies at Dakota Wesleyan University, where he later taught political science and history. He received his doctorate in 1953 from Northwestern University, but gave up college teaching in the same year to become executive secretary of the moribund Democratic Party of South Dakota.

McGovern's election to the United States House of Representatives in 1956, made him the first Democrat to win a congressional race in the state in twenty-two years. He was re-elected in 1958. He ran unsuccessfully for the United States Senate in 1960. In 1961, he was appointed by President John F. Kennedy as the first director of the Food for Peace program. McGovern again ran for the Senate in 1962 and was declared the winner after a close election. He became the first Democrat to be elected to the Senate from South Dakota in twenty-six years and was easily re-elected in 1968.

McGovern declared his candidacy for the Presidency in 1968. He lost the nomination to Hubert Humphrey. After Humphrey's defeat, McGovern became chairman of the newly established commission on party structure and delegate selection. This commission's goal was to "democratize" the party and broaden its base of support. McGovern won the Democratic nomination for President in 1972, but was defeated in the general election by Richard Nixon. McGovern returned to his home state in 1974 and was re-elected to a third term as senator.

In September of 1983, McGovern once again announced his candidacy for the Presidency. He supports the nuclear freeze movement, calls for the United States to withdraw from Central America and favors improved relations with

WALTER MONDALE

Walter Frederick ("Fritz") Mondale was born on January 5, 1928, in Ceylon, Minnesota, the son of a politically liberal Protestant minister of Norwegian descent. During the late 1940s, while attending college in Minnesota, Mondale assisted Hubert Humphrey with internal struggles in the state's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party. After two years of service in the army, he earned a law degree from the University of Minnesota and practiced law for four years.

Mondale managed Governor Orville Freeman's re-election campaign in 1958, and in 1960 was appointed attorney general by Freeman. At age thirty-two, he was the youngest in the state's history to hold that office. Later that year he became attorney general by election. Mondale, appointed to the United States Senate seat vacated by Humphrey when he became vice-president, was elected to that office in 1966 and 1972. He gained national recognition in 1976 when Jimmy Carter chose him to be his running mate on the Democratic ticket. The Democrats were victorious that year and Mondale became vice-president.

Mondale is campaigning as a "real Democrat." He takes positions "that appeal to the traditional Democratic coalition of blue-collar workers, blacks, the poor, white ethnics and women."¹ He argues that Reagan's policies are unfair and a burden on the poor. Mondale proposes to restore social programs cut by the President and to reduce the deficit by decreasing defense spending, repealing the third year of the Reagan tax cut and by forcing the rich and corporations to pay more taxes. He supports a nuclear freeze and has criticized Reagan's Central American policies. Mondale feels it is important

to improve the educational system and favors an industrial policy that provides a major governmental role in pursuing industrialization.²

¹Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), p. 8.

²Collier's Encyclopedia, 1979 ed., s.v. "Walter Mondale;" Steven Manning, The Newsweek 1984 Presidential Election Handbook. (New York: Newsweek Education Department, 1984), pp. 8-9.

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born in Tampico, Illinois in 1911. He graduated from Eureka College in Illinois, and became a sports announcer in the 1930s. He signed his first movie contract in 1937. He served as an officer in the United States Army Air Force during World War II. In the 1940s and 1950s, he held the office of president of the Screen Actors Guild and served as head of the Motion Picture Industry Council.

Reagan began his political career as governor of California from 1967-1975. He campaigned for Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential race. In 1968 and 1976 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. Through his 1976 campaign he attracted much support among conservatives and won many delegates in the South and West. Reagan became President of the United States in 1980 by defeating Jimmy Carter. In 1984, he is seeking re-election and is almost assured the Republican nomination in August, since he is the only "real" Republican candidate.

Reagan advocates peace through strength, economic growth without inflation and a return to old-fashioned values. His re-election strategy consists of three main elements: the economy, leadership and conservative values. "The President is convinced the economy is going his way. 'If the recovery continues in a sustained way, I'm not sure the average voter will care all that much' about the deficits, says White House Chief of Staff, James A. Baker."¹ Consistently, polls show that Reagan is viewed by the public as a strong and decisive leader. His advisers hope to convince the voters that Mondale is not. The President is trying to regain the enthusiasm of the right wing of

the Republican Party. He hopes his stand on social issues will enable him to make an impact on normally Democratic Catholic and fundamentalist Protestant voters.²

¹"Reagan's Strategy For A Tough Campaign," Businessweek, February 13 1984, p. 34.

²World Book Encyclopedia, 1980 ed., s.v. "Ronald Reagan;" "Reagan Gets Ready," Time, January 30 1984, p. 10; "Reagan's Strategy For A Tough Campaign," Businessweek, February 13 1984, pp. 34-35.

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